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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 BEIJING 15407

FOR SECRETARY BAKER
NSC FOR DOUG PAAL
CINCPAC FOR FPA

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PHUM](#) [SOCI](#) [CH](#)
SUBJECT: SITREP NO. 29: ARTICLE JUSTIFIES MARTIAL
LAW; PLA TO USE ANY AND ALL MEANS TO ENFORCE MARTIAL
LAW; DEFENSE MINISTER APPEARS, SO DOES LI PENG; TENSION
ON TIANANMEN SQUARE

REF: A. BEIJING 15288 B. BEIJING 15383

11. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

12. SUMMARY: THE JUNE 3 EDITION OF THE PEOPLE'S
DAILY CARRIED A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE INDICTING "A SMALL
GROUP OF PEOPLE" WHO ALLEGEDLY INCITED THE PRESENT
TURMOIL IN BEIJING AND JUSTIFIED MARTIAL LAW. THE
ARTICLE WAS ISSUED BY THE BEIJING MUNICIPAL PARTY
COMMITTEE, PROBABLY UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
CONSERVATIVE POLITBURO MEMBER LI XIMING. LI APPEARS
TO BE SPEARHEADING THE ATTEMPT TO BRAND ZHAO ZIYANG
AS A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY.

13. THE EVENING TELEVISION NEWS ON JUNE 3 BROADCAST A
STERNLY WORDED MARTIAL LAW HEADQUARTERS ANNOUNCEMENT
STATING THAT TROOPS WILL USE ANY AND ALL MEANS TO
ENFORCE MARTIAL LAW IN BEIJING. AS THIS CABLE IS
DRAFTED, THE MARTIAL LAW HQ IS WARNING BEIJING
CITIZENS TO STAY OFF THE STREETS IN REPEATED
TELEVISION BROADCASTS. DEFENSE MINISTER QIN JIWEI
ALSO APPEARED ON THE EVENING NEWS. QIN, WHO IS
RUMORED TO HAVE OPPOSED MARTIAL LAW, MAY HAVE BEEN
REHABILITATED BY DENG XIAOPING IN ORDER TO COUNTER
ENHANCED INFLUENCE AMONG PARTY ELDERS. THE TV NEWS
ALSO BROADCAST A BAFFLING ADDRESS BY LI PENG ON
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES.

14. TENSION MOUNTED THROUGHOUT THE AFTERNOON AS
BEIJING RESIDENTS VENTED THEIR ANGER BY HARASSING
MILITARY AND POLICE PERSONNEL AND ATTACKING THEIR
VEHICLES. STUDENTS DISPLAYED CAPTURED WEAPONS,
MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND VEHICLES, INCLUDING IN FRONT
OF THE ZHONGNANHAI LEADERSHIP COMPOUND. AN EFFORT TO
FREE STILL CAPTIVE MILITARY PERSONNEL OR TO CLEAR THE
SOUTHERN ENTRANCE TO ZHONGNANHAI MAY HAVE BEEN THE
CAUSE OF A LIMITED TEAR GAS ATTACK IN THAT AREA
AROUND 1500 HOURS LOCAL. AROUND THE SAME TIME
SEVERAL THOUSAND UNARMED, BUT HELMETED, TROOPS TOOK
UP POSITIONS ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE GREAT HALL OF
THE PEOPLE. EARLIER IN THE AFTERNOON, STUDENT
LEADERS AND THE FOUR HUNGER STRIKERS HELD A PRESS
CONFERENCE IN WHICH THEY THANKED THE PEOPLE FOR THEIR
SUPPORT.

15. THE AMBASSADOR HAS REQUESTED THAT ALL EMBASSY
PERSONNEL NOT ENGAGED IN REPORTING TO REMAIN AT

HOME. END SUMMARY.

PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE CONDEMNS CONSPIRATORS,
JUSTIFIES MARTIAL LAW

¶6. THE FRONT PAGE OF THE JUNE 3 PEOPLE'S DAILY CARRIED A LONG ARTICLE ISSUED BY THE BEIJING MUNICIPAL PARTY COMMITTEE PROPAGANDA BUREAU INDICTING THE "SMALL GROUP" OF CONSPIRATORS RESPONSIBLE FOR CREATING TURMOIL IN THE CAPITAL AND JUSTIFYING MARTIAL LAW AND THE POSSIBLE USE OF TROOPS. THE OPENING SECTION OF THE ARTICLE ARGUES THAT A SMALL GROUP OF PEOPLE PLANNED TO CREATE TURMOIL FROM AS EARLY AS LATE LAST YEAR. THESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL GOAL IS TO NEGATE THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM. THEY PLANNED SECRETLY IN COLLUSION WITH INTERNAL AND DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE AND THE PUBLISHERS OF CHINA SPRING MAGAZINE. AFTER THE DEATH OF HU YAOBANG, THE CONSPIRATORS SPREAD RUMORS TO ENFLAME THE SITUATION, ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE. FINALLY, THESE PEOPLE MALEVOLENTLY TRAMPLED DEMOCRACY AND LAW TO SPREAD SERIOUS SOCIAL DISORDER.

¶7. IN A SECOND SECTION, THE ARTICLE EXPLAINS THAT DESPITE THE CESSATION OF THE MAY 13-21 STUDENT HUNGER STRIKE, THE CONTINUATION OF MARTIAL LAW IS NECESSARY TO RESTORE ORDER AND TO COUNTER THE MACHINATION OF THE "SMALL GROUP OF PEOPLE." A FINAL SECTION EXHORTS READERS TO "UNITE WITH THOSE WHO CAN BE UNITED AND EXPOSE THE SMALL GROUP OF PEOPLE INCITING TURMOIL." IT VOWS THAT THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE DIALOGUE WITH STUDENTS AND OTHER GROUPS WITH GRIEVANCES. IT NOTES THAT SOME WORKERS, CITIZENS, AND CADRES WHO SUPPORT THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT AND WHO MAY HAVE PARTICIPATED IN DEMONSTRATIONS WILL NOT BE PURSUED. THOSE GROUPS OF "HOOLIGANS" SUCH AS THE "FLYING TIGERS" MOTORCYCLE BRIGADE AND THE "SUICIDE BICYCLE BRIGADES" WILL BE PUNISHED, THE ARTICLE STATES. FINALLY, THE ARTICLE DEMANDS THAT THE "SMALL GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO INCITED THE TURMOIL" BE EXPOSED.

¶8. WE BELIEVE THE ARTICLE TO HAVE BEEN DRAFTED UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF POLITBURO MEMBER AND BEIJING PARTY COMMITTEE SECRETARY LI XIMING. AS WE HAVE REPORTED IN THE PAST, THE ARCH CONSERVATIVE LI HAS RESOLUTELY SIDED WITH LI PENG AND THE ELDERS AND APPEARS TO BE SPEARHEADING THE ATTEMPT TO LABEL ZHAO ZIYANG AS A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY. IN ADDITION TO PROVIDING AN IDEOLOGICAL BASIS FOR MARTIAL LAW, THE ARTICLE EMPLOYS A VENOMOUS TONE THROUGHOUT IN ITS ATTEMPT TO TO ESTABLISH CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE SMALL GROUP OF CONSPIRATORS -- READ ZHAO ZIYANG AND HIS FOLLOWERS -- WITH ALLEGEDLY ANTI-PARTY AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES OF STUDENTS AND DEMONSTRATORS. THE ARTICLE EVEN QUOTES ANTI-DENG AND ANTI-LI PENG BIG CHARACTER POSTERS PUT UP ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES SINCE THE DEATH OF HU YAOBANG.

BEIJING MARTIAL LAW HEADQUARTERS ANNOUNCES THAT THE
PLA WILL USE ANY AND ALL MEANS TO IMPLEMENT ORDERS

¶9. THE JUNE 3 CCTV EVENING NEWS REPORTED THAT MARTIAL LAW HEADQUARTERS ISSUED AN ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE ENTRY OF SOME TROOPS INTO THE BEIJING CITY CENTER ON THE NIGHT OF MAY 2 (SEE REFS. A AND B). THE ANNOUNCEMENT CLAIMED THAT THE PLA IS BACKED BY THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE, BUT FEW HOOLIGANS INSULTED, HELD, AND BEAT PLA TROOPS WHO ENTERED THE CITY. SOME PEOPLE EVEN STOLE WEAPONS, THE ANNOUNCEMENT SAID. IT FURTHER STATED THAT NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE WITH TROOPS ATTEMPTING TO IMPLEMENT ORDERS. THE PLA WILL USE ANY AND ALL MEANS TO ENFORCE MARTIAL LAW IN THE CAPITAL. ANYONE ORGANIZING RESISTANCE TO THE TROOPS WILL SUFFER THE

CONSEQUENCES, THE ANNOUNCEMENT STATED. AS THIS CABLE IS DRAFTED, BEIJING TELEVISION IS REPEATEDLY BROADCASTING A MARTIAL LAW HQ WARNING TO BEIJING CITIZENS TO STAY OFF THE STREETS.

DEFENSE MINISTER QIN JIWEI APPEARS

¶10. CCTV NEWS ALSO REPORTED THAT ON JUNE 3, DEFENSE MINISTER QIN JIWEI VISITED PLA TROOPS ENCAMPED OUTSIDE OF BEIJING. QIN WAS WIDELY BELIEVED TO HAVE OPPOSED THE MAY 20 MARTIAL LAW DECLARATION. HOWEVER, HIS APPEARANCE FOLLOWS BY SEVERAL DAYS A SIMILAR APPEARANCE BY PARTY CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION MEMBER HONG XUEZHI, WHO ALSO WAS RUMORED TO OPPOSE MARTIAL LAW. QIN WAS SEEN IN THE COMPANY OF A GROUP OF HIGH RANKING PLA OFFICERS CASUALLY CHATTING WITH TROOPS.

¶11. THE TV NEWS QUOTED QIN AS DELIVERING GREETINGS FROM DENG XIAOPING AND YANG SHANGKUN. THE APPEARANCES OF BOTH QIN AND HONG STRONGLY SUGGEST THAT THEY HAVE CUT A DEAL WITH AT LEAST DENG XIAOPING IN WHICH THEY SUPPORT SOME FORM OF MARTIAL LAW IN RETURN FOR THEIR CONTINUED POLITICAL HEALTH. IT HAS BEEN RUMORED IN BEIJING THAT DENG MAY NEED THE TWO IN ORDER TO COUNTER THE INCREASED INFLUENCE OF PARTY ELDERS, PERHAPS INCLUDING YANG SHANGKUN, IN THE WAKE OF ZHAO ZIYANG'S POLITICAL DEMISE.

LI PENG DISCUSSES ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (|?)

¶12. THE LEAD ITEM ON THE JUNE 3 EDITION OF THE NIGHTLY TELEVISION WAS RESERVED FOR PREMIER LI PENG, WHO APPARENTLY DELIVERED AN ADDRESS ON CHINESE ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES ON THE SAME DAY. LI WAS SHOWN SITTING STIFFLY AT A TABLE WITH A MICROPHONE. HE FACED THE CAMERA RIGIDLY AND READ FROM A TELEPROMPTER WITH A TONE OF VOICE SIMILAR TO THAT OF HIS MAY 19 SPEECH ON THE NEED FOR LAW AND ORDER. WE WERE BAFFLED BY THIS APPEARANCE, IN WHICH THE PREMIER MADE NO OBVIOUS REFERENCES TO THE SITUATION IN BEIJING. IT COULD HAVE BEEN A NOT VERY REFINED ATTEMPT TO SHOW THAT LI IS IN CHARGE AND STILL ABLE TO FOCUS ON DAY-TO-DAY STATE COUNCIL BUSINESS. HOWEVER, THE BEIJING MARTIAL LAW HQ ANNOUNCEMENT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED THIS SEGMENT.

THE AFTERNOON OF MAY 3

¶13. TENSION MOUNTED THROUGHOUT THE AFTERNOON ALL OVER BEIJING AS RESIDENTS VENTED THEIR ANGER OVER THE ENTRANCE OF TROOPS IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF JUNE 3. EMBOFFS ENCOUNTERED A NUMBER OF INCIDENTS IN DIFFERENT LOCATIONS IN WHICH CROWDS HARASSED MILITARY OR POLICE PERSONNEL, FORCED THEIR VEHICLES TO TURN AROUND, JEERED AT DISPLAYS OF CAPTURED MILITARY EQUIPMENT, OR VANDALIZED CAPTURED MILITARY VEHICLES. ONE OF THE HOTTEST AREAS WAS ON CHANGANDAJIE BETWEEN THE SOUTH ENTRANCE OF THE ZHONGNANHAI LEADERSHIP COMPOUND AND THE BUS-BARRICADE AT THE XIDAN INTERSECTION. A BAMBOO TRIPOD SET UP DIRECTLY IN FRONT OF THE ENTRANCE TO ZHONGNANHAI BORE CAPTURED MILITARY EQUIPMENT INCLUDING A BAYONET, A TENT STAKE, MILITARY SHOES AND CLOTHING. FURTHER DOWN THE STREET TOWARD THE XIDAN INTERSECTION A DISABLED MILITARY BUS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE STREET ALSO DISPLAYED CAPTURED EQUIPMENT. ON TOP OF THE BUS A SMALL TABLE HAD BEEN PLACED ON WHICH THERE WAS A MACHINE GUN ON A TRIPOD, TWO AK-47S, A HELMET, A PLA HAT, AND A BANNER (ONLY PARTIALLY VISIBLE) READING "THIS IS LI PENG'S..." THOUSANDS OF ONLOOKERS CROWDED AROUND THE DISPLAYS, TAKING PHOTOGRAPHS AND CHEERING THE IMPROMPTU

SPEECHES DENOUNCING THE GOVERNMENT.

A STRIKE PLANNED?

¶14. A BEIJING REVIEW JOURNALIST STOPPED ONE POLOFF NOT FAR FROM THE XIDAN INTERSECTION, EAGER TO EXPLAIN THE DAY'S EVENTS. THE JOURNALIST REPORTED THAT A MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION WAS PLANNED FOR 1400 HOURS LOCAL AND HE SAID IT HAD BEEN PROPOSED THAT A GENERAL STRIKE BE CALLED.

STUDENT PRESS CONFERENCE

¶15. EARLIER IN THE DAY AROUND NOON LOUDSPEAKERS IN TIANANMEN SQUARE BROADCAST A LENGTHY SPEECH BY SOMEONE IDENTIFYING HIMSELF AS A JOURNALIST REPORTING ON THE ENTRANCE OF TROOPS INTO THE CITY. THOUSANDS OF BYSTANDERS LISTENED ATTENTIVELY AS THE JOURNALIST DESCRIBED HOW STUDENTS AND RESIDENTS EVENTUALLY PERSUADED THE SOLDIERS TO TURN AROUND. AT 1300 HOURS LOCAL THE STUDENTS HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE NEAR THE "GODDESS OF FREEDOM." STUDENT LEADER WUERKAIXI LED OFF THANKING THE PEOPLE FOR THEIR SUPPORT AND THEIR CONCERN. HE ALSO THANKED THE REPORTERS WHO AT "GREAT RISK" HAD COME TO COVER THE CONFERENCE. HE THEN INTRODUCED THE FOUR HUNGER STRIKERS. LIU SHAOBO, A DOCTOR OF LITERATURE AT BEIJING NORMAL UNIVERSITY, THANKED THE PEOPLE FOR THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE STUDENTS, ESPECIALLY DURING THE PREVIOUS NIGHT WHEN LI PENG, UNDER THE "RUSE OF ENFORCING MARTIAL LAW," HAD SENT IN ARMED TROOPS. LIU SAID EVERYONE HAD A RESPONSIBILITY TO UPHOLD THE IDEAL OF DEMOCRACY FOR WHICH THE PEOPLE LONGED. LIU SAID THE GOVERNMENT WAS COMPLETELY UNREASONABLE. HE SAID IT WAS CONTROLLED BY A SMALL MINORITY AND DID NOT REFLECT THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE.

¶16. TAIWAN-RAISED MUSICIAN HOU DEJIAN ANNOUNCED THAT DONATIONS FROM THE MAY 27 CONCERT FOR FREEDOM IN HONG KONG HAD SO FAR TOTALLED 13,700,000 HONG KONG DOLLARS. SUCH SUPPORT, HE SAID, SHOWED THE IMPORTANCE AND THE CORRECTNESS OF THE MOVEMENT. GAO XIN, BEIJING NORMAL UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR AND COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER, SPOKE ABOUT HOW AS A PARTY MEMBER HE WAS DOING THE CORRECT THING BY FASTING. HE WAS RESPONDING TO THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE WHICH WAS WHAT THE PARTY AND ITS MEMBERS WERE SUPPOSED TO DO.

¶17. IN RESPONSE TO A REPORTER'S QUESTION, LIU XIAOBO SAID THE MOVEMENT MUST CONTINUE ITS PEACEFUL METHODS TO ACHIEVE ITS GOALS AND THAT THE PEOPLE MUST DO NOTHING OUT OF ANGER. THE PRESS CONFERENCE ENDED WITH WUERKAIXI BEING RAISED UP ON OTHER STUDENTS' SHOULDERS AND CARRIED AROUND THE SQUARE.

A TEAR GAS ATTACK

¶18. ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS, A FEW PLA SOLDIERS REMAINED CAPTIVE THROUGHOUT THE AFTERNOON ABOARD THEIR DISABLED BUSES IN THE FUYOUJIE INTERSECTION BETWEEN ZHONGNANHAI AND XIDAN. AN EFFORT TO FREE THESE TROOPS MAY HAVE BEEN THE CAUSE OF A TEAR GAS ATTACK IN THE AREA SOMETIME AFTER 1500 HOURS LOCAL. IT MAY HAVE ALSO BEEN AN EFFORT TO CLEAR JEERING CROWDS FROM THE FRONT OF ZHONGNANHAI. IN EITHER CASE, IT APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN A LIMITED ATTACK. THERE WERE ALSO SOME UNCONFIRMED REPORTS OF BEATINGS.

¶19. ABOUT THE SAME TIME, SEVERAL THOUSAND TROOPS, UNARMED BUT WEARING HELMETS, APPEARED ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE GREAT HALL OF PEOPLE WHERE THEY SAT IN ROWS TWO-TO-THREE MEN DEEP. THEY APPEARED

WELL-DISCIPLINED. SEVERAL BYSTANDERS WERE OBSERVED
THROWING THINGS AT THE TROOPS, BUT THEY DID NOT
RESPOND. MEANWHILE THE EAST SIDE OF THE GREAT HALL,
ON TIANANMEN SQUARE REMAINED RELATIVELY NORMAL.

EMBASSY SECURITY

120. THE AMBASSADOR HAS REQUESTED THAT ALL EMBASSY
EMPLOYEES NOT ENGAGED IN POLITICAL OR MILITARY
REPORTING AND DEPENDENTS TO REMAIN AT HOME. SECTION
HEADS HAVE PASSED THE WORD TO EMPLOYEES. EMBOFF IN
VICINITY OF TIANANMEN SQUARE IS NOTIFYING ALL
AMERICANS THAT HE ENCOUNTERS IN THE AREA TO LEAVE.

LILLEY